By John Bowles
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THREE DIALOGUES

ON THE

RIGHTS OF *BRITONS*,

BETWEEN

A FARMER,

A SAILOR,

AND

A MANUFACTURER.

THE THIRD EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. NICOL, PALL-MALL; J. DEBRETT, PICCADILLY; T. N. LONGMAN, PATER-NOSTER-ROW; AND J. DOWNES, NO. 240, NEAR TEMPLE-BAR, STRAND.

MDCCXCIII.

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Rec. June 20, 1904

DIALOGUES

ON THE

RIGHTS

OF

BRITONS,

BETWEEN

A FARMER,

A SAILOR,

AND

A MANUFACTURER.

DIALOGUE THE FIRST.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. LONGMAN, PATER-NOSTER-ROW; G. NICOL, PALL-MALL; J. SEWELL, CORNHILL; C. DILLY, POULTRY; J. DEBRETT, PICCADILLY; AND HOOKAM AND CARPENTER, BOND-STREET.

MDCCXCII.

DIALOGUES

ON THE

RIGHTS

OF

LABOUR.

BETWEEN

A TARVER,

A SAILOR,

AND

A MANUFACTURER.

DIALOGUE THE FIRST.

LONDON.

DIALOGUES, &c.

FARMER.—SAILOR.

Farmer.

WELL, Jack! I rejoice that you have made so successful a voyage, and I am happy to inform you that the prize-money which you got with so much honor the last war, and which I prevailed on you to let me lay out for you in the funds, is almost doubled by the prodigious rise of Stocks. But here comes an old friend of yours—

Enter MANUFACTURER.

Sai. And I am sorry to see that old friend has a new face. Good God! what an alteration: How shy he looks: What cheer my lad?

Mayhap you have met with rough weather. Never mind, we can't always have a fair wind.

Man. (*ſurlily*). No, and I believe we ſhall have a ſtorm before a calm.

Far. Why, what is the matter now? No freſh misfortune, I hope.

Man. Only my curſed landlord has threatened to ſeize my goods again if I do not pay my rent in a week; and God knows I could as well carry the houſe on my ſhoulders. But all thoſe matters will be ſet to rights by-and-by, and landlords will find themſelves in the wrong box.

Far. How is it that every thing of late ſeems to have gone croſs with you? Formerly you were in a thriving way, and full of mirth and gaiety; now you are moping and peeviſh, and always meeting with ſome misfortune or another. Whence comes this change? You have had no illneſs in your family to pull you back.

Man. Why, to tell you the truth, my time has lately been taken up a good deal out of my buſineſs and in a better way. And though I feel the inconvenience in family affairs, I am wiſer than ever I was in my life.

Far. More *fooliſh*, you ſhould have ſaid, ſince, by your neglect, you have brought your family into trouble. But pray tell me in what manner you have been employed.

Man. I

Man. I have been ſtudying MR. PAINE's "*Rights of Man*," and other Works of the like kind: and I have been attending Clubs which have been eſtabliſhed in our town for the purpoſe of obtaining thoſe Rights.

Sai. And who the devil has dared to fall foul of thoſe Rights in this Country? I'll be d—'d if any foreign force will venture to attack them while they are defended by ſuch a Navy and ſo many gallant Tars. And as to matters at home, I never heard before but that every man's Rights were protected by Law.

Far. And ſo they are, and ever will be while the Conſtitution remains in force and vigor; thank God there is not a ſingle right which man can enjoy, that is not enjoyed and ſecured, in the completeſt manner, in this Country. But if you (*to Manufacturer*) have been ſtudying MR. PAINE, I am not at all ſurprized that your mind is become reſtleſs, your hands idle, and your circumſtances embarraſſed. Theſe are the Rights which he endeavours to eſtabliſh among the laborious part of the Community: He ſeeks to infuſe the poiſon of diſcontent into their minds, in order to make them his tools to promote confuſion. He wiſhes to diſturb the State, to overturn the Government, to demoliſh the Conſtitution, and to throw the Kingdom into diſorder, that he may gain thoſe advantages in a ſcramble which

he knows can never be procured by his merits. But ſeeing that the country is flouriſhing, and its inhabitants free, loyal, and happy, he finds that there is no chance of ſucceeding in his diabolical ſchemes, unleſs he can render the people diſcontented and diſaffected. He therefore endeavours to blind their eyes to all thoſe glorious and ſolid advantages, which have hitherto made the name of an Engliſhman reſpected, and his condition envied all over the world.

Man. Then I find you have read his works, as well as myſelf.

Far. During my late confinement I read them at the requeſt of a friend; and I never ſaw ſo much malice, ſo much falſehood, or real ignorance in any work in my life. My age, obſervation, and experience, aided by a good education (for you know I was firſt intended for the church), enable me, I hope, to form a tolerable judgment on moſt ſubjects, and, I believe, you will not doubt that my intentions are honeſt; and I am glad of an opportunity to undeceive you, and to reſtore your former attachment to the Conſtitution of your Country.

Man. That will be a difficult matter, for MR. PAINE has convinced me that we have been hitherto without a Conſtitution in this Country.

Sai. The

Sai. The devil he has, and yet that's odd enough, for I have heard of the *Britiſh* Conſtitution, and as a d——d good one too, all over the world.

Far. Phoo, Phoo! PAINE knows well enough that we have a Conſtitution, which has long been the admiration of the world; and, though his taſte is too depraved to admire what is ſo excellent, it excites his envy and his malice: while he denies its exiſtence, his grand wiſh is to ſee it demoliſhed; and, in order to promote its deſtruction, he labours to prejudice againſt it every one who will liſten to him.

Man. But I wiſh to know where this famous Conſtitution is to be found. I have ſeen a copy of the late Conſtitution of *France*, in a neat little book, containing the whole complete from beginning to end, and I dare ſay the next will be drawn out and publiſhed in like manner: but I have never had a copy of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution put into my hands, nor have I heard of any ſuch thing being kept at the *Tower* or any where elſe.

Sai. Nor I neither: but though I never ſaw a plan of it, I always underſtood that it was made of the beſt materials; that it was a long time in building; and that, being well put together, it has weathered many a hard gale.

Far. (*to Manufacturer*). You have hit upon an eſſential difference between the *Engliſh* Conſtitution and that which the *French* lately projected. The latter was indeed drawn up in great form upon paper, but it was only to be found upon paper; but the former is a ſolid and well-tried Syſtem, founded upon Experience, and long exiſting in actual practice. THEIRS was a muſhroom plan grown up in a night, and demoliſhed as quickly as it was framed—the produce of Fancy, and containing nothing more ſubſtantial than mere theory. OURS, like the Engliſh Oak, has arrived by ſlow degrees at maturity, and, like the Engliſh Oak too, is uſeful and durable, forming the ſtrength, while it ſecures the laſting happineſs of the Nation.

Sai. You could not have explained it better to my mind. Engliſh Oak is, as you ſay, ſlow in growth, but then it excels all other timber. That of America grows much quicker, but the ſhips built of it go ſooner to decay. There's nothing like Engliſh heart of Oak, and that our enemies well know.

Man. I cannot ſay I am yet ſatisfied. The late *French* Conſtitution, it is true, had bad luck, and laſted but a ſhort time, but yet in my little book I can ſee what it was. I can * "*produce it in a viſible form, and quote it article*

* Rights of Man.

"*by*

"*by article.*" Now can you in like manner produce the Engliſh Conſtitution. Where is *that* to be found?

Far. I admire your perſeverance about trifles. Nothing ſeems likely to ſatisfy you but a ſchedule or inventory of the Conſtitution, as if it were to be put up to auction: but it is our advantage that there is no occaſion to publiſh a code or plan in order to make it known; for, thank God, it is ſo well aſcertained, and ſo univerſally underſtood, as to render ſuch a meaſure quite unneceſſary. The French indeed wanted a code to deſcribe what had never before exiſted in point of fact; but their paper Conſtitution fell to pieces before they could well get it into their heads; while ours is deeply engraven on the hearts of Engliſhmen.

Man. Then you allow that there is no code to which we may refer for the Articles of the Britiſh Conſtitution.

Far. Indeed I do not. The Conſtitution of this country is to be found blended and incorporated with that venerable ſyſtem of written and unwritten laws which is juſtly the adoration of Engliſhmen: derived from the ſame origin, and having advanced together to maturity, they act upon, explain, and ſupport each other; their connection and mutual dependance are ſuch that they muſt ſtand or fall

together; and the enemies of one are the enemies of both. It is therefore among the ſacred regiſters of our private rights (the moſt proper place ſurely) that the principles and ſecurities of our public rights are to be found. Many of thoſe principles have ſtruck their roots deep among the original foundations of the common law; while in the ſtatute-book the various ſecurities and privileges obtained by the people at different times are faithfully recorded—There we find the great Charter of our Liberties, commonly called *Magna Charta*, obtained ſo long ago as the reign of King *John*, and confirmed by many ſubſequent ſtatutes.—There alſo we find the Petition of Right, being a Parliamentary ratification, in the reign of Charles the Iſt, of the rights of the people—There alſo we find the immortal *Habeas Corpus* Act, the laſt, the firm, and immoveable barrier of perſonal liberty—Afterwards, by the Bill of Rights, and laſtly by the Act of Settlement, made in the beginning of the preſent Reign, we find the ſucceſſion to the Crown and the functions of Government and limited and guarded in ſuch a manner as to prevent the poſſibility of encroachment, and to ſecure the laſting felicity and freedom of the People.

Sai. Now ſink me if I think any ſhip could have kept her log-book better. This is what I call a fine courſe, a good reckoning, and a proſperous voyage.

Man.

Man. And ſo we muſt pore over old muſty Acts of Parliament in order to diſcover this famous Conſtitution.

Far. I do not know what you call old muſty Acts of Parliament; but I think it is a great advantage, and a ſolid ground for rejoicing, that our rights have been eſtabliſhed and enjoyed for ſuch a length of time. They are thereby rendered more reſpectable, as well as more ſecure; and accordingly the people hold their *Magna Charta* in a veneration proportioned to its antiquity.

Man. But I for one have very little inclination to ſtudy, and ſtill leſs ability to purchaſe, the voluminous collections of the Statutes.

Far. It is not at all neceſſary that you ſhould; for the Hiſtory of the Country contains an adequate code of its Conſtitution, and diſplays to the comprehenſion of every one the manner in which that Conſtitution grew, the circumſtances under which the ſeveral parts of it were formed, and the principles upon which it was founded. In peruſing ſuch Hiſtory we ſhall ſee that the people have, from time to time, inſiſted upon and obtained ſuch civil advantages as Experience, the mother of True Wiſdom, pointed out to be neceſſary to their ſecure enjoyment of ſocial liberty. They did not act upon mere opinion, which differs ſo much

much in different perſons, and therefore affords but a very weak foundation to build upon; they improved thoſe opportunities which events threw in their way, of reſiſting and of vanquiſhing the abuſes which they had actually endured, and of providing effectual means againſt the repetition thereof. Hence the remedy was always adequate to the evil — one ſource of oppreſſion was cut off after another — advantages were ſecured as they were obtained — and at length the Conſtitution, being founded upon experience, and matured by time, arrived gradually at the perfection in which we now behold it, and became calculated both for utility and duration, every part being fitted for the purpoſe it was deſtined to anſwer, and the whole forming a well-connected and well-proportioned Syſtem.

Man. It ſeems, however, that the *French* did at once what the *Engliſh* were ages about.

Far. You ſhould rather ſay the *French* pretended to do at once what the *Engliſh* were ſo long in performing; for the former have only verified the old ſaying, that what is haſtily done is ill done. Great changes can only be made to advantage by very ſlow degrees. The late *French* Conſtitution was only a matter of experiment, and it was ſoon found to be impracticable, and ſpeedily vaniſhed into air. —" Like the baſeleſs fabric of a viſion, it has " not left a wreck behind." *Ours* is the reſult

ſult of experience, and after a lapſe of ages ſtands as firm as a rock. The Makers of Conſtitutions may hence derive a very uſeful leſſon, and learn the difference between Theory and Practice. If all the Philoſophers in the world were to aſſemble in order at once to frame a Conſtitution for a country, however beautiful and alluring their plan might be in appearance, there is very little chance that it would ſuit the manners, the habits, and the national character of the people, or that it would be practicable when it ſhould come to be tried. But the *French*, deſpiſing even the advantage of calm and orderly diſcuſſion, began with removing all thoſe powers and authorities which, however in ſome inſtances abuſed, were the only ſecurity for order, and attempted the great work of forming a Conſtitution in the midſt of Tumult, Riot, and Confuſion,—when calm Reaſon was obliged to give way to Paſſion and to Outrage,—when popular Commotion, artfully fomented, and diſplayed in Devaſtation and Maſſacre, kept the whole Kingdom in conſtant agitation and alarm. Judge if a Conſtitution thus conſtructed was at all likely to be uſeful or even practicable!

Sai. I ſhould think the State-veſſel muſt drive before the wind in ſuch a ſtorm, and that ſhe would founder without ever coming in ſight of port. It muſt be very fooliſh to think of building or mending Conſtitutions, or doing any ſuch nice work, in ſo hard a gale.

At

At ſea we never venture to lay a ſhip under repair but in calm weather and ſmooth water.

Far. Your ſuppoſition has been exactly realized; one of the fineſt countries in the world has been ruined, and is become at length ſuch a ſcene of horror that Human Nature ſhudders at the ſpectacle: and after four years ſo ſpent, with Revolution following Revolution, the whole buſineſs remains to be done, and a Conſtitution is ſtill to be formed, which will probably meet the ſame fate as that before it. But it has been the happineſs of *England* to obtain, by far different means, a Conſtitution which ſecures the Happineſs and Freedom of the People, and which is of courſe beloved by them; adapted in its nature to their temper and habits, and friendly in its exerciſe to order and tranquillity. I hope I have made it appear that this Conſtitution is authenticated by written vouchers, and thoſe of a much more reſpectable kind than any new-fangled code produced by Fancy and never confirmed by Practice. But the grand excellence of the *Britiſh* Conſtitution ſtill remains to be noticed, namely, that it exiſts not merely upon paper or parchment, but in actual practice: its benefits are hourly experienced; it is to be found in enjoyment; it is beſt known by its effects, as a tree by its fruits; and no more requires a pompous deſcription to convey an idea of its value than the genial

genial warmth of the Sun, or the benevolent ſhowers of Heaven. The actual advantages poſſeſſed by *Engliſhmen* as their ſure and unalienable Birthright afford the moſt forcible and the moſt feeling deſcription of the Conſtitution, and exhibit to the eye and the heart *Magna Charta*,---the *Habeas Corpus* Act,---the Bill of Rights, and all the other Sources and Safeguards of our Liberties in their nobleſt form: and theſe advantages are peculiarly manifeſt in that Liberty and that Security which every Individual enjoys in this Country, which are the grand objects of Society, and the moſt valuable bleſſings it can beſtow.

Sai. People make ſuch a pother about Liberty that I thought it included every thing; but I don't remember hearing much about what you call Security.

Far. And yet without Security Liberty would be the worſt of Evils. If a People could live without Government and Laws, they would poſſeſs perfect Liberty without Reſtraint, and conſequently without Security: that is to ſay, there would be no Regulations or Public Force to prevent Individuals from doing whatever they pleaſe; of courſe the Strong would tyrannize over the Weak, the Good would be at the mercy of the Bad, and a conſtant ſcene of Rapine, Violence, and Bloodſhed would prevail. It is neceſſary therefore for Mankind to reſort for Protection to a State of Society, where

where Individuals are reſtrained by the compulſory obligation of Laws from doing what may be pernicious to Others or detrimental to the State. It is plain, therefore, that in Society a Portion of that Liberty which would belong to a State of Nature is given up as a neceſſary Price for Security. And Social Liberty means a Right to do whatever is not forbidden by the Laws; which Liberty flouriſhes in the higheſt Perfection in this Country, where there is no Power but that of the Laws to controul the Actions of any Perſon.

Man. But can you ſay that theſe Laws are equal for Rich and Poor?

Far. Certainly I can; and if you had truſted to your own obſervation, inſtead of liſtening to the falſe inſinuations of malicious Incendiaries, you would never have doubted it; for nothing can be more obvious, than that all perſons, whatever their birth, their ſtation, or their circumſtances may be, are of equal conſequence in the eye of the Law. The Rights of an *Engliſhman* are not the Rights merely of the Wealthy and the Great, but of ALL without diſtinction. The ſame Laws extend their protection alike to All; and whether a Nobleman ſtrikes a Labourer, or a Labourer a Nobleman, it is equally a violation of the Law, and the ſame Juſtice is open to Both. The grand prevailing Principle of our Conſtitution is to provide as much as poſſible for the

Peace,

Peace, Security, and Happineſs of every Individual in whatever ſtate or condition he may appear; and the eſſential Rights of Human Nature, which it is the object of Society to protect, are as ſacred in the perſon of the Loweſt as of the Higheſt. No man, however Rich or Great, can oppreſs the pooreſt Subject of theſe realms, no Station or Wealth can furniſh the leaſt protection from the penalties of the violated Laws; or prevent an injured Citizen from obtaining redreſs for his wrongs. Such are the important and invaluable privileges of Britons; while the grand bulwark of all, Trial by Jury, protects the enjoyment of our Rights from every danger, and forms the corner-ſtone of our Liberties.

Man. It ſurely, however, is no proof of the equality of the Laws that the poor are obliged to ſuſtain ſo many hardſhips and burthens, while the rich revel in luxury at their expence.

Far. Such cant is exactly the kind of argument upon which Mr. *Paine* chiefly relies for exciting diſcontent in the lower orders of Society; and I beg you to remark what a ſtrong proof it affords of the falſehood as well as of the malice and abſurdity of his aſſertions. So far from its being true that burthens are impoſed on the poor to ſupply the luxuries of the wealthy and great, as he would have you believe, the caſe is exactly the reverſe. The burthens of the State are impoſed upon thoſe who

are

are in circumſtances to ſupport them, and, as much as poſſible, according to their circumſtances: while the greateſt poſſible care is taken to prevent their falling upon others. Thus, for inſtance, no part of that large proportion of the taxes which is raiſed from Houſes is paid by thoſe who depend for ſubſiſtence on their bodily labour. Many other inſtances of a ſimilar nature might be mentioned, proving that the principle of taxation in this country is to lighten and relieve as much as poſſible the ſituation of the labouring part of the community, and to collect the neceſſary revenue from thoſe who are better able to ſupply it, and in proportion to that ability. But in what part of Mr. *Paine*'s writings is this important truth to be found. His aim being to deceive, it did not ſuit him to make any ſuch acknowledgment. It would have overſet his ſyſtem, and defeated his views. Thus you ſee to what deception they expoſe themſelves who give any credit to ſuch a man. Who that attended to Mr. *Paine* would imagine that among all that induſtrious claſs whom he repreſents as "paying their earnings in taxes to ſupport Court "extravagance," ſcarce a ſingle individual ever ſees a tax-gatherer enter his habitation?

Man. Good God! you aſtoniſh me; and yet, upon conſideration, what you ſay is perfectly true. I ſee that I have been miſled in this matter.

Far. And

Far. And ſo will every one be who takes Mr. *Thomas Paine* for his oracle. But I beg you to conſider further, that while the condition of the poor is alleviated as much as poſſible, the luxuries of the rich are converted into ſources of revenue. Is there a luxury which is not made to contribute its due ſhare towards the public burthens? And are not the very ſame articles taxed when they are uſed as luxuries, and exempted from taxation when they appear only as neceſſaries—of which the duties upon ſervants may be mentioned as an inſtance. Nay, in ſome articles, which the peculiar and preſſing circumſtances of the moment had rendered it neceſſary to ſubject to a temporary additional tax, did not the Legiſlature in the laſt ſeſſion ſeize the earlieſt occaſion, afforded by the flouriſhing ſtate of the finances, to take off thoſe burdens, expreſly becauſe they affected thoſe claſſes which were leaſt able to ſupport them *: and are we not in expectation, that the continued and increaſing proſperity of the Nation, aided by the judicious and ſucceſsful plans of a wiſe and able Miniſter, will ſhortly produce

* One of the articles from which the above additional duty was taken off, furniſhes a ſtriking proof of the Farmer's obſervation, that the ſame article is a ſubject of taxation when uſed as a luxury, and of exemption when uſed as one of the neceſſaries of life; for the additional duty on wax and ſpermaceti candles was retained, while that on other candles was taken off.

more extenſive alleviations, and in time, perhaps, relieve us from all our burthens? One thing, indeed, might hinder ſuch deſirable events from taking place, and make all our brilliant proſpects vaniſh into darkneſs; I mean the ſucceſs of MR. PAINE's endeavours to introduce confuſion and anarchy. But I am perſuaded the people are much too ſenſible, as well of the advantages of their ſituation as of the malice of his views and the ruinous tendency of his projects, to pay any attention to what he ſays. And they will be little diſpoſed to rely either on the friendſhip or the wiſdom of a man, who has never had any reputation either for principle or prudence, who has neither character nor property at ſtake, and who evidently has no other object than to create diſturbance among a happy and contented people.

Sai. Pray who is this TOM PAINE, who makes ſuch a noiſe? I think I have not heard any one talked of ſo much ſince the time of *John the Painter*.

Far. His hiſtory is ſoon told. He was brought up a ſtaymaker under his father at *Thetford*, in the county of *Norfolk*. He ſomehow became an exciſeman in the year 1762; was diſcharged for malpractices in 1765; found means to get himſelf reſtored in 1766; but, being incorrigible, was diſcharged again. While in that office, beſides taking bribes from others to defraud the revenue, he dealt in exciſeable commodities himſelf, and ſo made his intereſt and his

his duty draw different ways. He was twice married, though the death of his firſt wife has never yet been aſcertained; and upon his ſecond marriage, in defiance of the laws, he was falſely entered upon the regiſter as a batchelor. He gave his wives plenty of ill uſage, but allowed them none of the comforts of matrimony. He was a bad ſon, and broke his mother's heart. He never had a friend whom he did not reward with ingratitude. Finding no chance for ſucceſs here, he thought it beſt to decamp, and went to *America*; where, during the war, he ſhewed himſelf an enemy and traitor to his country, and did it all the harm he could. But, always conſiſtent with himſelf, he betrayed his new friends the *Americans*, and was therefore turned by them out of an office which his rancorous enmity to *Great Britain* had procured him. Returning to this country, he had the audacity to libel the King and Conſtitution; and, being proſecuted for his breach of the laws, has fled from juſtice. Laſtly, having thus been twice a Refugee *Engliſhman* and once a Refugee *American*, he is now become a *Jacobin Frenchman*, and is plotting with our ancient and implacable foes to bring deſtruction upon his native land.

Sai. Well, it is no bad thing that the ſhark has left our coaſt, though it would have been better to have given him his deſerts. But perhaps his new friends may do that buſineſs for him.

Far.

Var. Not at all unlikely. But I think we have ſpent more breath on him than he deſerves; and at preſent I muſt part with you, as I have a particular engagement. To-morrow I ſhall be glad to ſee you both again.

THE END OF THE FIRST DIALOGUE.

DIALOGUES

ON THE

RIGHTS

OF

BRITONS,

BETWEEN

A FARMER,

A SAILOR,

AND

A MANUFACTURER.

DIALOGUE THE SECOND.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. LONGMAN, PATER-NOSTER-ROW; G. NICOL, PALL-MALL; J. SEWELL, CORNHILL; J. PRIDDEN, FLEET-STREET; AND J. DEBRETT, PICCADILLY.

MDCCXCII.

DIALOGUES, &c.

FARMER.—MANUFACTURER.—SAILOR.

Manufacturer.

I HAVE thought a good deal upon our conversation of yesterday; and though I find I was mistaken in some points, yet I see many objections remaining to the state of things in this Country.

Far. That, perhaps, is not much to be wondered at, considering what pains have been taken to make you dissatisfied with every thing; though I should rather have thought, that, finding yourself imposed on in being made to believe that we have no Constitution, and that the Taxes are laid heavily on the Poor to supply the luxuries of the Rich, you would have no confidence in those who had told you such gross and abominable falsehoods.

Man. But can I ſhut my eyes againſt the Inequality that exiſts in this Country? Allowing that we have a Conſtitution which preſerves to every one Liberty and Security, and that the Taxes are impoſed with the utmoſt conſideration for the Poor, which I own you have convinced me is the caſe, is it not a mortifying thing to ſee ſome men enjoying all the luxuries of life, while others are obliged to work hard for common neceſſaries? Would not Equal Laws prevent ſuch a Diſparity?

Far. I believe, if the matter were fairly examined, it would appear, that thoſe who procure their ſubſiſtence by the labour of their hands, enjoy much more true happineſs than thoſe who indulge in all the luxuries of life. But you altogether forget, that the luxuries of which you complain as a proof of Diſparity, beſides contributing largely to the neceſſities of the State, furniſh neceſſary and copious reſources for the ſubſiſtence of the labouring claſs. How many hands are employed, how many families comfortably maintained by ſuch means! What numbers would be unavoidably reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs, if ſuch ſources of employment were cut off! Think not, however, that the difference between thoſe who labour for their bread and thoſe who abound in wealth is to be aſcribed to the Laws; ſuch Inequality is founded in Nature, and inſeparable from Society. The Laws neither make any

man rich or poor; they leave every one to the efforts of his own induſtry, and all they can do is to protect him in the exerciſe of that induſtry, and in the enjoyment of the fruits of it. Now it is well known, that in no country in the world is that protection ſo complete as in this, and we accordingly ſee that in no country is induſtry ſo ſucceſsful. Nowhere do Trade, Agriculture, and Manufactures, flouriſh as among us. Nowhere is there found ſuch certain employment, ſuch ample recompence for the many claſſes of induſtrious perſons who form the moſt numerous and the moſt neceſſary part of Society. And it is equally open to every one by talents and application, with the aid of opportunity, to riſe into ſtations of eminence and wealth. Such are the peculiar advantages of a Free Country; and in the nature of things Society, Government, and Laws, can do no more.

Man. They are very fortunate who can advance themſelves in that manner. But I think you ſaid juſt now, that thoſe who labour hard for their ſubſiſtence have no occaſion to envy ſuch as enjoy all the luxuries of life. This, I own, ſounds a little ſtrangely in my ears.

Far. It is nevertheleſs true. The labouring claſs neceſſarily forms the moſt numerous part of Society, and their labour not only conſti-

tutes the ſtrength and the riches of a State, but is indiſpenſable to its exiſtence. Their condition is not indeed wealthy; if it were, they would be little diſpoſed to benefit Society by their labour, and then neither the conveniences nor the neceſſaries of life could be procured, and their wealth would do them no good. But, on the other hand, they do not properly come within the deſcription of Poor, ſince by their *own induſtry* they maintain themſelves and their families. They have the ſtrongeſt and ſureſt claim for a recompence adequate to their maintenance. This is the firſt claim that muſt be attended to, and all others muſt give way to it. Their ſituation is therefore a reſpectable one as it is both uſeful and independent; and ſuch perſons, in the honeſt exerciſe of their induſtry, have no reaſon to regret the humble ſimplicity of their ſtation, the peculiar advantages of which are at leaſt equivalent to all that rank or opulence can beſtow.

Man. And pray what advantages can poſſibly belong to that ſtation beyond others?

Far. Advantages of the moſt important kind, and on which Nature has ſtamped the higheſt value. The eſſential bleſſings of health, vigour, and content, ſeem to be particularly allotted to perſons in that ſituation, while the luxuries

ſtries to which they are ſtrangers, and which they would be fools to covet, generally produce diſappointment, diſguſt, and indiſpoſition both of body and mind. Obſerve the tranquil mind, the ſteady and cheerful labour, the ſure and welcome reward, the robuſt health, the keen reliſh, the family endearments, and the calm repoſe * of the induſtrious peaſant, and tell me what other ſtation has an equal chance for real happineſs.

Sai. Egad! you ſpeak ſo home to my mind, that if ever I ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to be taken from a ſea life, I had rather go to live in a cottage than a palace.

Far. Your attachment to a ſea life is only one of the many proofs we daily ſee, that man, in every rank, is a creature of habit, and can ſeldom find his enjoyments out of the accuſtomed channel. Suppoſing the advantages for happineſs equal in the higher and lower ſtations, nay ſuppoſing, for argument ſake, that thoſe advantages were increaſed with elevation (the contrary of which is, I believe, the truth), Do you think that ſuch advancement would be a ſource of felicity to the Labourer? Would it be any gratification to him to be taken from his

* The farmer doubtleſs remembered that a wiſe man had ſaid, "The ſleep of a labouring man is ſweet, but the abundance of the rich will not ſuffer him toſleep." *Eccl.* v. 12.

familiar associates, from his homely though substantial fare, from his regular sleep and meals, from his plain, easy, and simple manners, to make him undergo the ceremonies, the refinements, the fashions, the intercourse, and the restraints of higher life? Would not this be taking him from himself? Soon would he wish to return to his crackling fire and his simple unfettered habits. Besides, as happiness cannot be enjoyed without employment, what would he be able to substitute for the plough, the loom, or the chisel? Would the Manufacturer be made more happy by wearing the silk which he has been employed to weave? Or, in short, Could there be a severer punishment inflicted on the Peasant than that of making him a Peer?

Sai. That is very true—just as if a Foremastman was made Admiral of a large fleet before an engagement: he'd soon wish to go back to his gun, to obey orders and fight the enemy in his old way.

Far. No doubt of it; and it would be as much better for the service as for himself. The truth is, a great variety of stations must exist in Society, every one of which benefits the rest. The bodily labour of the lower class is essential to the utility, and indeed the existence, of the whole, while the mental exertions, the commercial speculations, the ambitious schemes, the more polished manners,

nay

nay even the refinements and the luxuries, of the ſeveral aſcending ranks, return the benefit, and conduce alike to the comfort and happineſs of inferiors; and all join to promote the general advantage. In all, however, the chief ſource of felicity is Content. This, after all, is the grand ſecret of human bliſs; and this bleſſing impartial Heaven (to make the balance even, and to take away all cauſe for complaint at an apparent Inequality) ſeems to have deſtined chiefly for thoſe who occupy the humbleſt walk of uſeful life, and ſubſiſt on the labour of their hands. On them chiefly is this treaſure beſtowed, for purpoſes the moſt wiſe and the moſt kind both to themſelves and to Society, of which the only ſolid baſis is their quiet and cheerful induſtry. What a wretch then muſt he be who ſeeks to make theſe happy and valuable people exchange their Content for Reſtleſſneſs and Diſſatisfaction! How cruel and inhuman to them,—how miſchievous to Society,—is ſuch an attempt! How particularly cenſurable and malicious in a country like this, where every Artizan and Mechanic is as much within the ſure protection of the Laws as the higheſt Nobleman! And yet ſuch a ſcheme, black and diabolical as it is, is the grand object of Mr. PAINE's writings; and you *(to Man.)*. I am ſorry to ſay it, are a melancholy inſtance of its effect.

Man. I cannot deny it, but what could I do? I now feel the force of what you ſay; but the ſyſtem of Equality appeared to me ſo fair and juſt, that I could not help wiſhing to ſee it realized.

Far. I ſincerely lament that ſo good a diſpoſition as yours ſhould have been deluded by the artifices of deſigning men. If you think for a moment, you will ſee that the ſyſtem of Equality (ſuppoſing it practicable) would be a ſource of miſery to Mankind. It muſt be obtained either by raiſing thoſe who are in low ſtations, or by depreſſing thoſe in high ones, ſo that all might be brought to the ſame level. Now I hope that I have already ſaid enough to ſhew that it would be unfortunate to thoſe of the labouring claſs, and ruinous to Society, if ſuch perſons were raiſed from that uſeful ſtation in which Providence has placed them, and on which ſo many advantages are beſtowed—and they would ſuffer equally if their ſuperiors were reduced to the ſame rank with themſelves; ſince the many ſprings of induſtry which are now ſet in motion by the luxuries and manners of the rich and great, would thereby be inſtantly cut off. In ſhort, the different parts of Society have their reſpective uſes and functions, and depend upon each other as much as the different parts of the body—and ſubordination is equally neceſſary

in

in both—nor ſhould envy take place, while all contribute to the felicity and comfort of the reſt.

Man. That, I cannot deny, is the real caſe; but I have been told that Nature made Mankind equal, and if ſo, why cannot ſuch Equality be preſerved?

Far. If you conſult Nature, you will ſoon be convinced that ſhe never intended Mankind to be equal. If that had been her intention, ſhe would have formed them equal in bodily ſtrength and mental faculties—ſimilar in diſpoſitions, and in all thoſe properties which are now ſo variouſly beſtowed among men. Nay, to preſerve that Equality, they muſt have been deſtitute of thoſe paſſions which are the ſources of rivalſhip, ambition, and contention; they muſt alſo have been free from thoſe viciſſitudes and changes which they are now ſubject to; and they muſt, in ſhort, have been very different beings from what they are, and placed in very different ſituations. How can Nature be ſaid to have made men equal, when at their firſt coming into the world there is ſuch a wide difference as that between a child and its parents. Infancy, manhood, and old age, hunger, and ſleep, rain, lightning, and tempeſt, and a thouſand other natural cauſes, are at perpetual war with ſuch Equality. Even if it were poſſible for men to ſubſiſt in a ſtate of Nature, as it is called, that is, without Society,

Govern-

Government, and Laws, the Inequality proceeding from the above cauſes would ſoon become intolerable. A ſtate of ſociety is therefore their only reſource, and may with propriety be called the natural ſtate of Man, ſince he cannot ſubſiſt out of it. But the very formation of Society is incompatible with Equality, becauſe its eſſential object is to veſt in one part called Government a ſufficient power to keep the whole in order, and in ſubjection to laws, and the poſſeſſion of that power muſt elevate ſome greatly above the reſt.——Subordination is therefore unavoidable, and there muſt be a great variety of ranks, of offices, and of duties, every one of which is deſtructive of Equality.

Sai. I ſuppoſe ſuch a difference is as neceſſary aſhore as it is at ſea, where we have different duties, which would never be performed if we were all equal in rank and power. If all were Captains, who the devil would heave the water out of the long-boat?

Far. Neither at ſea nor on ſhore can Mankind adopt in practice the levelling ſyſtem, without involving themſelves in anarchy and ruin. Not even a private family, conſiſting merely of ten perſons, can maintain peace and decorum but by the aid of ſubordination. How then is the large family of the State, containing as many millions, to be regulated without the ſame aſſiſtance? But I beg you

to

to obſerve, that the Inequality ariſing in and from Society, is of a very different kind from that which muſt take place in what is uſually though erroneouſly called a ſtate of Nature. In the latter it would be deſtructive of all peace, order, ſecurity, and happineſs, for it would be all in favour of the ſtrong, the violent, and the vicious. But the inequalities of Society are really calculated for the benefit of all —without them the objects of Society could not be obtained—they actually conduce to a ſubſtantial Equality—an Equality in freedom, in ſecurity, in the enjoyment of thoſe important Rights which belong to ſocial Man. Theſe apparent Inequalities, directed and controuled by ſuch a Government as ours, tend as much as human means can do to promote an Equality of happineſs. They form an indiſpenſable part of that ſyſtem which protects every one in the purſuit of his own happineſs, while he does not annoy that of others, nor diſturb the general tranquillity.

Man. But the modern ſyſtem is not to eſtabliſh Equality by itſelf, but along with Liberty, ſo that they may help each other.

Far. I know *that* is the pretended faſhion in *France*; but as we are not out of our ſenſes, ſuch a faſhion has not been adopted in this country.—Liberty and Equality is the burthen of their ſong who wiſh to turn the world upſide down, but ſo far from aiding each

each other, as you ſuppoſe, no two things are ſo oppoſite and inconſiſtent. They are like fire and water, and muſt deſtroy each other. It is impoſſible they ſhould ſubſiſt together. Every thing in Nature tends to Inequality, and while Nature is at all free, while Liberty exiſts in any degree, Inequality muſt ariſe. The moſt abſolute force muſt be exerted, the moſt violent deſpotiſm muſt be exerciſed to preſerve Equality: and then it will be more in name and appearance than in fact; for nothing can entirely ſubdue Nature—ſhe will be breaking out in ſpite of all reſiſtance. Turkey is the country of Europe which approaches neareſt to a ſtate of Equality, becauſe there the moſt abſolute Deſpotiſm prevails. The Deſpot is the only exception, and (as ever muſt be the caſe where Equality is to be found) the people are equally ſlaves. If the weight were taken off which preſſes them to the ſame level, we ſhould inſtantly find them riſing in all thoſe various gradations which are dictated by Nature.

Man. But you ſee they have eſtabliſhed both Liberty and Equality in France.

Far. I deny that they have eſtabliſhed either. *Formerly*, whoever ſpoke or wrote againſt the old Government, was clapped into the Baſtille, from whence there was at leaſt a chance of being delivered.—*Now*, whoever ſpeaks or writes againſt the preſent Syſtem, is ſure to have his throat cut, or to be hung at a lanthern-poſt.

poſt. Judge if that be Liberty. And as to Equality, there is no pretence to *that*, except what ariſes from general confuſion. The people are indeed deluded by the name, but while many thouſands of the induſtrious part, who formerly ſubſiſted very comfortably, are ſtarving for want of employment, their rulers, who are in fact a thouſand times more tyrannical, inſolent, and overbearing, than any King that ever ſat on the throne, are improving the opportunity their ſituation affords of accumulating Fortunes. Such is their boaſted Equality! But let the *French* be or do what they pleaſe, is it conſiſtent with the independent ſpirit of *Engliſhmen* to adopt *French* maxims, to imitate *French* manners, or to practiſe *French* principles? That vain and ambitious People, our ancient and natural rivals, ſeem more than ever to covet univerſal conqueſt. They only purſue it in a new manner, by the daſtardly means of exciting the people to revolt againſt their lawful Sovereigns: but ſuch as liſten to them will ſoon find out their error, and learn, to their coſt, that they have embraced Slavery rather than Liberty. Fearful of our valour, theſe new-made pretended Patriots treat us outwardly with reſpect, but they have numerous Emiſſaries among us to excite us to confuſion, and to make us diſcontented and diſunited; hoping to obtain that pre-eminence by their artifices which they cannot expect from their arms. What a fine thing it would be for them, if we could be prevailed on to follow their example,

and

and become a Republic! We ſhould ſoon become ſubordinate to them, and perhaps, like *Savoy*, form a new Department of the Country which we have ſo often made to tremble—We ſhould, like the Brabanters, be deprived of our corn, and be made to exchange our ſilver and gold for French aſſignats—We ſhould have the honour of paying contributions to French armies, and taxes to the National Convention. But happily we know that our conſequence and our independence are inſeparable from our Conſtitution and monarchical form of Government. As a Monarchy, we have riſen to be the firſt State in Europe—We poſſeſs, thanks to our wiſe and brave anceſtors, the beſt Conſtitution in the world—We will preſerve it—and if ever it ſhould be abuſed, which is not very likely, We will find our own remedy in the ſenſe, ſpirit, and moderation of Britons, rather than in the example of Frenchmen.

Sai. Would I could meet with one of thoſe French raſcals who endeavour to make a diſturbance in this country, egad I'd rub him well down with a good oaken towel: I'd ſoon make him wiſh to be toaſting his frogs again at home.

Far. The chaſtiſement would be juſt; but what ſay you to thoſe degenerate Engliſhmen who join with them in purſuit of the ſame object?

Sai. Nay, now you are trying to get to windward of me; but it won't do: I'll never believe

believe that any of my Countrymen can act ſo, though I dare ſay there are ſad fellows among them too.

Far. Well, I don't wiſh to put you out of conceit with your countrymen, though your Friend here might probably be able to ſupport what I have ſaid. But there is *no* doubt that the *French* are as deſirous as ever of reducing our power and conſequence, of ſtealing our commerce, and of giving the death-blow to our national independence and our naval ſuperiority. They are the ſame artful and deſigning People they ever were; and, in their Revolutions, they exhibit the ſame treachery and perfidy, the ſame fickleneſs and levity which ever marked their character. But they have alſo ſhewn themſelves actuated by a brutal and ſanguinary diſpoſition, and capable of the moſt barbarous and ſavage cruelty, ſuch as muſt inſpire the mind of every *Engliſhman* with horror. We are a humane and a generous People, and have, thank Heaven, an inſuperable averſion to Blood, unleſs when for our Honour we ſhed or loſe it gallantly in the field. During all our popular commotions we never loſt ſight of Humanity; and even in the dreadful year 1780 the Mob did not hurt the hair of any man's head. But the *French* cannot be turbulent without being blood-thirſty;—while they have Liberty in their Mouths their Hands are engaged in Slaughter;—their Tree of Liberty cannot thrive, unleſs the

the Soil be drenched with Blood. It therefore becomes every *Engliſhman* to pray, " From *French* Liberty the good Lord deliver us !"

Man. I am as much ſhocked as you can be at the horrid maſſacres lately committed in *France*, and I believe that *Engliſhmen* are incapable of ſuch barbarities. But I cannot conceive how the little paſſage of ſea between *Dover* and *Calais* can make ſuch a difference in diſpoſition between one people and another.

Far. There are a variety of cauſes which operate in forming the diſpoſition of a people, and perhaps none more than the Conſtitution and Form of Government under which they live. Thus the *Engliſh* Character has acquired a vigour and a manlineſs from the Conſtitution. The conſequence which every *Engliſhman* feels to belong to him as ſuch, and the ſenſe he entertains of the value of thoſe important rights and privileges which he enjoys as his birthright, endue him with firmneſs and magnanimity, and inſpire him with a ſenſe of honour, and a dread of diſgrace;—while his diſpoſition, formed under the mild and genial influence of legal, orderly, and ſalutary Freedom, is as open, humane, and generous, as it is bold and brave. Every ſpecies of cruelty is repugnant to his nature; he is as ready to forgive and to ſuccour as to fight; and he will no more hurt or even inſult a vanquiſhed

quiſhed foe, than he will yield the palm of victory while he has ſtrength to diſpute it. Nor is there a People in the world ſo diſtinguiſhed for their benevolent bounty as the *Engliſh*, Munificence and Charity are here diſplayed beyond all example and without oſtentation; and Woe, which, by the laws of Nature, is ever attendant upon the condition of Humanity, is ſure among us to attract pity and relief. Thus may it be ſaid, that to live under the Laws and Government of this Country, tends to refine and improve Human Nature itſelf, and to cultivate the growth of its nobleſt virtues.—In like manner do the principles of the Conſtitution favour the ſucceſs of honeſt induſtry and of uſeful enterprize. Where do we find Commerce and Manufactures flouriſh as in this Country; where is the Labourer, the Artizan, or the Mechanic, ſo certain of employment? Where is Diligence ſo ſure of Succeſs, and Merit of a Recompence? And to what is this owing, but to the foſtering hand of the Conſtitution, which beſtows Liberty and Security as an univerſal boon upon all; inſpiring thereby confidence and ſatisfaction; and encouraging, while it protects, the Labours of the Hand, the Exertions of the Mind, and the various Efforts of uſeful Induſtry.

Sai. I hope, Brother, by this time you are ſatisfied, elſe I cannot imagine what the devil you would have. And as for TOM PAINE, or any other lying lubberly raſcal who tries to put

put Engliſhmen out of conceit with their Country, and to ſtir up ſuch a happy People to mutiny, he deſerves death a thouſand times more than a robber or even a pirate.

Far. Such wretches deſerve both execration and puniſhment; but I fancy they ſuffer very ſeverely in the diſappointment of their hopes. It is no ſmall mortification to them to ſee that univerſal attachment to the Conſtitution, and that ardent and enthuſiaſtic loyalty to the King, which a grateful and affectionate, a ſenſible, a free, and a happy people do now diſplay with ſuch zeal and fervor. Theſe ſentiments and feelings exiſted before; they are indeed inſeparable from the heart of every true Briton; but they have been called forth, at the preſent moment, into ſuch loud and univerſal acclamations, by the daring and miſchievous attempts of wicked Incendiaries who ſought to excite Inſurrection and Rebellion. The people ſaw themſelves inſulted, vilified, and menaced. They have joined their hands and raiſed their voice even to Heaven, to vindicate their honour from the foul aſperſion of diſloyalty, and to teſtify their regard for thoſe rights for which their anceſtors ſtruggled and bled. The Britiſh Lion is rouſed, and ſhews himſelf determined to defend the Throne and the Conſtitution againſt all foes both within and without, and woe to thoſe who dare provoke his vengeance.

Sai.

Sai. All traitors at home will, I hope, meet with their deſerts; and believe me, the wooden walls of Old England were never in better condition of defence againſt all foreign foes, ſhould any dare either to attack or to inſult us.

Far. That is certainly true, and I will add, that ſuch is the tried valour, ſuch the ſteady and unſhaken fidelity both of the Britiſh Army and Navy, that our honor and our intereſts are ſecure againſt the whole World. With ſuch gallant protectors we may reſt eaſy and undiſturbed, and thank Heaven for diſtinguiſhing us with ſo many and ſo great advantages, beyond all the Nations of the Earth. But, for the preſent, I muſt conclude our converſation; and to-morrow evening we will reſume it again.

END OF THE SECOND DIALOGUE.

DIALOGUES

ON THE

RIGHTS

OF

BRITONS,

BETWEEN

A FARMER,

A SAILOR,

AND

A MANUFACTURER.

DIALOGUE THE THIRD.

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MDCCXCIII.

DIALOGUES, &c.

FARMER.

(To Manufacturer) WELL, I hope, upon reflection, you are now reconciled again to your useful condition of life, and that you will return to that contented and cheerful industry which formerly made yourself and your family so happy.

Man. Why, I must acknowledge that I used to be very contented and very happy. I found my labour an amusement as well as a means of subsistence; and my satisfaction was complete when after my day's work I returned to my family. But then I had never read Mr. PAINE, and knew nothing of those grievances which he has pointed out.

Far. Your grievances must have been very great since you could not find them out without Mr. PAINE's assistance. If a person is out of order, his feelings are sure to inform him of it; so if you were injured or oppressed in any degree, I should think you would not want Mr. PAINE, or any one else, to point it out to you. Englishmen are very quick in discerning their wrongs, and are much more apt to suppose imaginary evils than to overlook real ones. But, pray, what are the grievances to which you refer? I was in hopes I had convinced

you that every individual in this Country, being under the protection of known and equal laws, and in the enjoyment of equal conſtitutional liberty, is ſecure from every kind of oppreſſion.

Man. And ſo you have, nor can I deny that the people of this Country enjoy, *as individuals*, all the advantages you have mentioned. I feel that I poſſeſs freedom and ſecurity, and that having the protection of the laws in my favour, no one can hurt or injure me. But what is all this while the form of Government under which we live is inconſiſtent with the Rights of Man? and of that I am thoroughly convinced by reading Mr. PAINE, however he may have deceived me on other points.

Far. You are not aware how groſsly you contradict yourſelf. You ſay our form of Government is inconſiſtent with the Rights of Man. Now before you adopt that opinion, you ſhould examine what are the Rights of Man with reſpect to Government. Pray what do you imagine to be the object for which Government is eſtabliſhed?

Man. I ſuppoſe, to make men as free and as happy as poſſible; or for what you, perhaps, would call Liberty, Security, and the Welfare of Society.

Far. They are exactly the ſame thing; and as Government is inſtituted for ſuch purpoſes, I ſuppoſe mankind have a right to expect that it ſhall produce the ends for which it is eſtabliſhed.

Man. Moſt certainly.

Far. And can there be any right more important or more eſſential than this?

Man. No, I do not think there can—it ſeems to me to include all our rights.

Far. Then, without much difficulty, we have got at the grand and eſſential Rights of Man in Society; namely, to derive all the Protection and Security in

Perſon

Perſon and Property, which it is in the power of Government to beſtow; and theſe rights, as you have already admitted, are completely enjoyed in this Country, where every one has equally the protection of the Laws, and where there does not exiſt any power to injure or oppreſs: our form of Government, therefore, cannot be inconſiſtent with thoſe rights, ſince we enjoy them ſo fully.

Man. But what if another Form ſhould appear preferable?

Far. Pray tell me, if you were to chuſe a machine, ſhould you conſider chiefly whether it were of a particular form, or whether upon trial it worked well, and anſwered in the beſt poſſible manner the purpoſe for which it was made?

Man. I ſhould certainly work it, and if I found it uſeful and commodious, I ſhould not care much about the form.

Far. And if, beſides finding upon trial that it anſwered your purpoſe, you ſhould learn that it had been generally uſed with great approbation by others in the ſame line of buſineſs with yourſelf, and even by your predeceſſors for many centuries back, ſhould you not immediately conclude that it was conſtructed in the beſt manner, and put together in the moſt commodious and advantageous form?

Man. Certainly I ſhould.

Far. Then why ſhould you not judge in the ſame manner about Government, which is a machine, and a very intricate one too, the office of which is to ſecure, as much as poſſible, the welfare and happineſs of man? If we had ſtill to form a Government, we ſhould endeavour to diſcover one which was likely to produce thoſe very advantages which we already enjoy. And are we

to be told by Mr. PAINE, or any one elſe, that our form of Government is inconſiſtent with the Rights of Man, while it is ſo plain that we are in full poſſeſſion of thoſe Rights—while every one is free to do whatever he pleaſes, ſo he does not violate thoſe laws which are made for the happineſs of all—while every man is ſecurely protected againſt all the world? Thoſe who do not like ſuch rights, muſt wiſh to eſtabliſh other rights of a contrary nature—ſuch as the right to plunder, to ravage, and to murder, which I take to be the *modern* Rights of Man—which the doctrines of Mr. PAINE tend to eſtabliſh, and which are actually practiſed by his friends the Jacobins in France.

Man. I'm ſure you will not ſuſpect me of favouring ſuch horrid rights.

Far. No; I am confident you are an honeſt well-meaning fellow, and have only, like many others, been led aſtray by attending to the artful writings of deſigning men. Theſe men ſeek to create confuſion, by rendering mankind diſſatisfied with their lot, and while they promiſe ſomething far better, they only enſure the bittereſt diſappointment to thoſe who believe them, as you yourſelf have experienced. They do not like the rights enjoyed in this Country, becauſe while ſuch rights exiſt, their wicked propenſities muſt be kept within ſome bounds; for the Laws cannot protect the good without reſtraining the bad. Therefore theſe wretches have a violent antipathy to all regular and eſtabliſhed Government, becauſe it is the buſineſs thereof to ſee that the laws are executed. It would not, indeed, anſwer their purpoſe to complain expreſsly that perſons and property are ſecure; *that* would be too bare faced, and would certainly defeat their ſchemes; but they make a violent outcry againſt Government:—in order to raiſe a prejudice, they aſcribe to it all thoſe evils, miſ-

fortunes,

fortunes, and hardſhips which are attendant on our nature, and which, under a mild Government like our's, are alleviated as much as poſſible. If any other Government could be ſubſtituted which ſhould afford like protection, they would be juſt as noiſy and clamorous. Nothing, indeed, could perfectly ſatisfy them but the total deſtruction of all Government whatever.

Man. How can you charge Mr. PAINE with any ſuch intention? May he not wiſh to change one Government for another without being deſirous of deſtroying all Government whatever?

Far. In general he is too artful to avow any ſuch deſign; but in one part his zeal got the better of his prudence, and made him expoſe the cloven foot—I mean where he ſays that Government is of very little utility, and at the beſt a thing more in name and idea than in fact; and that the diſſolution of Government would be attended with advantage.

Man. Oh! I remember now that I was a little ſurprize at that part; but perhaps Mr. PAINE could explain it ſatisfactorily.

Far. I ſuppoſe you mean he could explain it away; but he would be hard put to it to do ſo; and in ſpite of all his ſubtlety it will ever remain a damning proof of the real extent of his wiſhes, and afford a full explanation of all his writings. Thus it is that people who want to deceive, and are therefore obliged to conceal their real meaning, are apt ſometimes (fortunately for the cauſe of truth) to be off their guard, and to let the maſk drop off. But after ſuch a ſpecimen, it is fair to infer, that whenever Mr. PAINE or his abettors oppoſe any particular form of Government, it is Government itſelf in every practicable form that they mean to attack (at leaſt until they can get to the head, and then they would rule with a rod of

iron, and prove that Government may indeed be a curſe). But at preſent, whatever pretences they may uſe, the forms which moſt diſpleaſe *them* are thoſe of the Old Bailey and the aſſizes; and of all the Agents of the Executive Power, they moſt diſlike the Executioner, and on his account chiefly all the reſt.

Sai. Egad, Maſter PAINE has let the cat out of the bag, and they muſt be d——d fools, indeed, who ſuffer themſelves to be gulled by him after ſuch a diſcovery.

Man. Well, well, you muſt have your laugh out, for I cannot deny that you have made a fair hit. But ſtill, as Mr. PAINE brings objections againſt our particular form of Government, it is an important queſtion, Whether theſe objections are well founded or not?

Far. That is a queſtion I have no objection to conſider, though I muſt previouſly obſerve to you once more, that as Conſtitutions and forms of Government are not mere ſpeculations, or fancies of the mind, but inſtitutions of a moſt important nature, and altogether of a practical kind, the beſt way to judge of their merits is to obſerve their effects; to examine, not which is the moſt beautiful, but which is the moſt uſeful; and to enquire whether they produce the happineſs and welfare of the people. We have already ſeen, and you have candidly admitted, that every political and ſocial bleſſing is fully enjoyed by the people of Great Britain, who knowing that they are free, flouriſhing, and proſperous at home, and highly reſpected abroad, are ſtrongly attached to the form of Government under which they enjoy ſuch advantages.

Man. But am I to underſtand you, that on ſo important a ſubject we are not to exerciſe our reaſon at all?

Far. By no means; I am only for affording reaſon the important aid of experience, whenever it can be obtained.

In

In all caſes, thoſe who reaſon in oppoſition to facts and obſervation are almoſt ſure to be miſtaken; but on a matter of ſuch importance, we ſhould be particularly cautious not to quit the high beaten road of experience; for if we go wrong, the conſequence is moſt dreadful. The comfort and happineſs of millions are here at ſtake; and yet, without mentioning ſuch incendiaries as PAINE, whoſe object it is to miſlead, there are perſons of honeſt intentions, who, in a matter of ſuch moment, recommend wild and random experiments with as much boldneſs and compoſure as if no material inconvenience could attend a failure or a miſtake. If we could be perſuaded to take for our guides theſe political Will-o'-the-wiſps, we ſhould infallibly be led into ſome of thoſe gulphs of miſery and ruin which ſurround us on every ſide, and loſe irrecoverably the ineſtimable advantages of our preſent ſituation; while the whole world would be more diſpoſed to laugh at our folly, than to pity the wretchedneſs which that folly had produced. It is therefore among the plaineſt dictates of reaſon, that a people ſhould know the advantages they actually poſſeſs, that they ſhould value them properly, enjoy them with ſenſe and moderation, and preſerve them with unſhaken firmneſs and unceaſing vigilance. In ſhort, they ſhould take care not to loſe the ſubſtance for the ſhadow.

Man. I cannot but feel the force of what you ſay; but ſtill you have not convinced me that Mr. PAINE's objections to our form of Government are unfounded in reaſon, or that a people might not be ſtill happier without either Kings or Nobles.

Far. Having eſtabliſhed the excellence of the Britiſh form of Government on the beſt of all poſſible grounds, namely, the benefits it confers on the people, I am as willing as yourſelf to examine Mr. PAINE's ob-

jections, which are founded only in malice, and ſupported only by falſehood and miſrepreſentation.—You aſk me, whether a people might not be happier without Kings and Nobles?—that is to ſay, Whether a pure Republic, or Democracy, is not preferable to a mixt Government like ours? I anſwer, that as we are now bringing Governments to the teſt of general reaſon, there is one ſhort plain conſideration which will aſſiſt us very much in judging rightly upon the ſubject, and which PAINE wants either the wiſdom or the honeſty to take into the account, viz. that Government is to operate upon human nature, which is, and ever muſt be in this world, liable to numberleſs imperfections, frailties, and vices. Nay, thoſe very defects render Government neceſſary; for if men were pure and perfect beings, they would not want the protection of Government againſt each other. As, therefore, Government is founded upon the imperfections of human nature, and intended as a remedy againſt thoſe imperfections, it is as neceſſary to take that circumſtance into conſideration in judging of the utility of any particular form of Government, as it is for a Phyſician to conſider the conſtitution of his patient, and the nature of the diſeaſe, before he applies a remedy. But theſe are matters which your deſigning viſionary writers upon Government altogether overlook.

Man. All that ſeems rational enough, though I do not find any ſuch obſervations in Mr. PAINE. But, pray, how do you apply them in favour of Monarchy in preference to a Republic?

Far. Monarchy is beſt calculated by its vigour and energy to keep the paſſions of mankind within bounds, and to repreſs the pernicious effects of their vices. It is favourable to public quiet, order, and tranquillity, while a Re-

a Republic is ſubject to perpetual agitation and diſturbance. In the former, the ambition of individuals is uſeful to the State, by prompting men to gain diſtinction and eminence, and to diſplay their talents in the ſervice of their country, while there always exiſts a power capable of reſtraining its exceſſes; and it cannot, however ardent, paſs certain bounds, nor aſpire to ſupreme dominion:—but in Republics, ambition has no limits; the love of power, ſo natural to the human mind, is here perpetually excited by a never-ceaſing temptation, and may be carried to any length; and when that is the caſe, the bad, who without ſcruple purſue any means to attain ſucceſs, will have greatly the advantage of honeſt men, who deſire only to ſerve their country, and are always under the reſtraint of principle. Both, indeed, with equal fervour, may lay in their claim to patriotiſm, but how are the people to look into their hearts and ſee which beſt deſerves it?—nay, the pretended patriot is ever moſt noiſy on that ſubject, and thereby often gains the public confidence. In aid too of his profeſſions, he works privately by cabal and intrigue; he makes the paſſions of the multitude ſubſervient to his deſigns, and has, upon the whole, abundantly the beſt chance of getting into power. But means that ſucceed with one man, or ſet of men, being alike open to all, may alſo ſucceed with others:—hence different factions will be continually at work; while thoſe that have gained their object muſt continue to employ the ſame arts, in order to preſerve their aſcendancy, and to counteract the efforts of others. Thus a Republic muſt be a prey to internal diſquiet and agitation—it muſt be ever convulſed by that ambition which, in a Monarchy, is ſubject to a grand regulating ſpring; while the people, dupes to

all the deluſive artifices of popularity, and wavering from ſide to ſide, according to the ſkill and addreſs of their reſpective Demagogues, have no other chance for repoſe than the entire aſcendancy of ſome one faction over the reſt; in which caſe, the moſt violent and arbitrary means muſt be reſorted to, in order to preſerve ſuch ſuperiority, and to ſuppreſs all oppoſition and interference;—and then you will find the completeſt and the moſt deſpotic tyranny that can poſſibly be exerciſed over a people.

Sai. I think I ſee the reaſon why your reſtleſs fellows are all ſuch violent Democrats, as I think you call 'em—for in a Monarchy they are kept under the hatches of rule and order, and that does not ſuit them. At ſea we always keep a ſharp look-out on the grumbling, diſcontented dogs, who, I dare ſay, would be liberty boys a-ſhore. They are ever trying to draw off their ſhip-mates from their duty, and would be glad of an opportunity to run away with the veſſel.

Far. Such perſons are out of their element in every well-regulated State, and pant for tumult and confuſion. Hence the moſt turbulent part of mankind are generally diſpoſed to be rank Republicans; but as the affairs of the world ſucceed beſt by the aid of order, quiet, and tranquillity, Republics are but little in vogue, and exiſt only in countries of very ſmall extent, where their miſchiefs cannot make ſuch progreſs as in larger territories. America, which, after the War and the eſtabliſhment of its Independence, began with the Democratical Syſtem, found, after a very few years experience, that ſuch a ſyſtem was abſolutely incompatible with its happineſs and proſperity; and accordingly in the year 1787, as far as circumſtances would permit, it adopted the Engliſh Conſtitution, as it had before adopted the Engliſh Laws;

and

and introduced the triple form of Government—by eſtabliſhing a Preſident, who is inveſted with the Executive Power—and two deliberative Chambers.

Sai. I remember I was there about that time.—Every thing at firſt ſeemed in confuſion—the crew was diſorderly, under no command—the veſſel did not anſwer the helm, and was expected every moment to founder;—but juſt at the nick the Government was trimmed and balanced—a Captain was appointed—diſcipline was eſtabliſhed aboard—and ſo, luckily, the ſhip righted, and has rode well ever ſince.

Far. Very juſtly as well as fairly deſcribed.—And for want of ſuch a balance in Government as was then eſtabliſhed in America, the Republican ſyſtem has ever been, and muſt ever be, incompatible with the welfare of States. In ſhort, to deſcribe a Republic in a few words, its principal features are, unbridled ambition, hypocriſy, ſuſpicion, jealouſy, and unrelenting ſeverity, on the part of the Government;—reſtleſſneſs, ferment, fickleneſs, diviſion, animoſity, and perpetual diſquiet, on the part of the People;—while the bond of union between both is cabal, faction, intrigue, artifice, and deluſion. On the other hand, Monarchy is favourable to the repoſe and tranquillity of a State; its principle is honour, its attributes vigour, diſpatch, mildneſs, and clemency: it is friendly to civilization and refinement; it foſters the Arts and Sciences; it protects and encourages induſtry and ingenuity, and it poſſeſſes the beſt ſecurity for uſefulneſs that any human inſtitution is capable of, namely, that the duty and the intereſt of the Monarch are the ſame, for he cannot conſult his own greatneſs more than by promoting the real welfare of his people. A Monarch too may, with ſafety and dignity, temper the ſeverity of the Laws, by an exerciſe of the

Godlike quality of Mercy *:—he may even ſometimes confirm his Throne and the public ſecurity by a well-timed extenſion of pardon and forgiveneſs. But Republican Rulers can never forgive: inſtead of mitigating the Laws, they are obliged, for ſecurity, to ſtretch them to the utmoſt degree of ſeverity: their dominion has ſo precarious a foundation, that they find it neceſſary to prop and ſupport it by terror; and they muſt awe and intimidate their foes by confiſcations, proſcriptions, and executions.

Man. But what if the Monarch ſhould be a Tyrant, and uſe his power for the purpoſes of oppreſſion? This you will ſurely admit to be poſſible, and I ſhould be glad to know, if in that caſe a Monarchy is preferable to a Republic.

Far. That danger only exiſts in an abſolute Monarchy, and not in a limited one like ours, where the powers and prerogatives of the Crown are reſtricted and clearly defined, and it is out of the power of the Sovereign to extend them, to oppreſs his ſubjects, or infringe on the Conſtitution. In compariſon with ſuch a Government, the deſpotic power of an individual is a juſt ſubject of abhorrence, and ought even in idea to excite the indignation of Engliſhmen. But dreadful and deteſtable as abſolute Monarchy is, it is expoſed to much fewer evils than thoſe which, for the reaſons I have ſtated, muſt ever prevail in a Republic. There is always a conſiderable chance that the moſt abſolute Monarch may be juſt, humane, beneficent, and deſirous of promoting the real welfare of his people; and that chance is much favoured by the circumſtance,

* Thus the favourite Engliſh Bard ſays of Mercy, that
——— "It becomes
"The throned Monarch better than his Crown—
"It is enthroned in the hearts of Kings."

that

that it is his perſonal intereſt to be ſo.—But in a Republic, the Ruling Party can neither acquire nor retain its power but by ſuch means as honeſt men would diſdain to employ; they muſt flatter the vicious, and cajole the weak; and while they wheedle the giddy multitude by their ſpecious eloquence, and by innumerable private artifices, they are really Deſpots of the worſt kind, Deſpots under the maſk of patriotiſm. It is alſo certainly worſe to be governed by many Tyrants than by one; and the Prince, however tyrannical and oppreſſive his diſpoſition may be, has not the opportunity of doing ſuch extenſive miſchief as Republican Demagogues, who live in the midſt of the people, and have all their own ſeparate animoſities and reſentments to gratify.

Man. I always thought it was eſſential to a Republic that the will of the People at large ſhould be ſupreme; if that is the caſe, how will they ſubmit to be tyrannized over?

Far. That is, I allow, the profeſſed principle of a Republic, but it is never carried into practice, nay, impoſſible it ſhould. The many are always led by a few, and thoſe few by ambition and perſonal intereſt. Nothing is more eaſy than to excite and to play upon the paſſions of the people at large. Their cool honeſt judgment is never referred to; but when their aſſiſtance is wanted for any particular purpoſe, their minds are firſt worked up into a ſtate of agitation, their fears are excited, their indignation rouſed, their vanity flattered, and their reaſon amuſed. They never ſee the real ſprings by which the machine is worked; and while they are encouraged to think that all power proceeds from, and is actually exerciſed by themſelves, they are merely the dupes and the tools of thoſe who profeſs to bow to their authority, and are cajoled, under the notion of an ideal Sovereignty, to

execute

execute the plans of their Tyrants. They are even made inſtruments of revenge, and are often excited to ſacrifice as traitors thoſe very perſons whom but the day before they had idolized as Patriots. This was frequently the caſe in the ancient Republics; and, to ſhew that human nature ſtill continues the ſame, has juſt been exhibited in France, where thoſe perſons who, a few months ago, were revered as the founders of the firſt Revolution, have been either maſſacred by the populace or obliged to fly for their lives. It is, therefore, ever attended with danger in a Republic to excite the reſentment of thoſe who can direct the public fury againſt their enemies, who can let looſe the many-headed Monſter whenever they pleaſe, and perſuade an enraged multitude, that their vengeance ought to ſuperſede the authority of all Laws.—Thus is a Republican form of Government incompatible with the enjoyment of true genuine Liberty. The freedom there enjoyed is merely nominal; for while every poſſible exceſs is permitted, nay, even encouraged, on one ſide of a queſtion, every one who indulges in the leaſt freedom of ſpeech againſt popular prejudices, or who happens to be even an object of ſuſpicion, may, without any legal proceſs, be inſtantly rewarded with a dungeon, a dagger, or a lamp-iron. The Laws cannot afford protection againſt a power which acknowledges no ſuperior, which is ſubject to no controul, which is as capricious and as fickle as the wind, and which is eaſily rendered the blind tool of the vileſt men for the vileſt purpoſes. It is plain, therefore, that a Republic can only exiſt in name, and that what is ſo called, is, in fact, a Government by a few; and as thoſe few will ever be of the moſt violent, daring, and turbulent diſpoſition, the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a form of Government

is a ſure introduction to the very worſt ſpecies of Ariſtocracy.

Man. You draw a terrible picture of Republics, and I am ſure it is out of my power to prove it a falſe one; but I have been told, that a Republic is not ſo much expoſed as a Monarchy to War, the greateſt of all calamities: and if ſo, ſurely the general tranquillity of States and Nations would counterbalance many internal defects of Government. What idea can be more dreadful than for a whole people to undergo the miſeries of a long, bloody, and expenſive war, to gratify the ambition or the vengeance of one man.

Sai. Egad, that's a ſhot betwixt wind and water, and muſt go a great way towards ſettling the queſtion between Monarchies and Republics. For tho' War is my trade, and I have no other chance of ever walking the quarter-deck, I can eaſily reckon that Peace is a fine thing for Landſmen, becauſe as how they have a mortal diſlike to Taxes.

Far. The idea that a Republican form of Government is more favourable to the peace and harmony of mankind, and leſs likely to be attended with wars, than a Monarchy, is merely an artful pretext, uſed to prejudice the minds of the credulous. If we conſult experience, and look back into paſt events, we ſhall find that the moſt bloody and cruel wars the world ever knew, have ſubſiſted between Republics. Beſides, Republican States have not only been always more ready to engage in war than others, but have alſo been the moſt ſanguinary and ferocious in the proſecution thereof; and they have ever ſhewn themſelves much more ſuſceptible of revenge, ambition, jealouſy, rivalſhip, and a thirſt for conqueſt, than the moſt abſolute Monarchs. I well remember to have read when I was young, and preparing for a very different

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line of life to that I have ſince followed, that the little Republican States of Greece were conſtantly engaged in the moſt violent contentions—That the Romans and Carthaginians, though at a much greater diſtance from each other, indulged their mutual animoſity for a long time with unabating fury, till the latter were totally extirpated. Nay, to look at home—no ſooner was the Monarchy overthrown by the atrocious murder of Charles I. than this country, while under the influence of a Government altogether Republican, and before Cromwell had uſurped the Sovereignty, entered into a furious and obſtinate war; and that not with a kingdom, but with Holland, which was then alſo a pure Republic. And it may be alſo proper to obſerve, that thoſe wars which Great Britain has engaged in for a hundred years back, and which have been the cauſe of our public debt, inſtead of being prompted by the ambition of our Monarchs, have been chiefly called for by the people at large. But the moſt ſtriking inſtance to ſhew that Democratical and Republican Syſtems of Government are incompatible with the peace of Nations, preſents itſelf at this moment to our eyes in the example of France; where, notwithſtanding the moſt fair and ſmooth profeſſions of univerſal peace, and, as far as words could go, an abſolute renunciation of all conqueſt, the rage for war, and for enlarged dominion, has, from the commencement of the Revolution, continued to increaſe in exact proportion to the extenſion of Republican principles; till at length the favourite object ſeems to be, to make war with every country in Europe that will not ſubmit to the moſt inſolent and arbitrary mandates.

Man. But does not France carry on thoſe wars for the generous purpoſe of giving Liberty to Nations?

Man.

Far. That is the moſt flimſy pretext that was ever uſed to cover a reſtleſs and unbounded ambition.—Without any eſtabliſhed Government of their own—without any trace of a Conſtitution, and themſelves a prey to confuſion and anarchy, the French have the audacity to interfere in the internal concerns of other Nations, and to dictate what form of Government they ſhall have. This is what they inſolently call beſtowing Freedom. They offer Liberty to all Countries—take poſſeſſion of ſuch as accept it— declare war againſt ſuch as will not, and ſend armies *to compel them to be free.* The principles on which theſe new-made Republicans carry on war, and the manner in which they conduct it, ſerve only to render it a more dreadful and a more univerſal ſcourge to mankind than it has ever appeared in the Hiſtory of the World. Beſides havock and devaſtation, the uſual attendants upon war, they ſpread civil diſcord and inſurrection wherever they go—they diſſolve all the bands of Society—remove all Conſtituted Authorities, and break aſunder all the ties of Religion and Morality. Inſtead of depending for ſucceſs upon fair, open, and manly hoſtilities, they endeavour by treacherous underhand arts, not merely to ſtir up the people againſt the eſtabliſhed Government, but alſo to excite them to jealouſy, contention, and animoſity among themſelves. By ſuch baſe and incendiary means do they obtain ſucceſs in their military operations; and then at once they throw off the maſk, and ſhew, that the Liberty they confer is indeed to ſet people free from all obligations to their old eſtabliſhed Government, but in the ſtead thereof to eſtabliſh the deteſtable tyranny of a foreign yoke. Then, indeed, do the people learn what it is to be enſlaved—then do they feel what it is to be inſulted—their repoſe deſtroyed—their property ſubjected

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to plunder—their lives expoſed to the aſſaſſin's dagger—their laws cuſtoms and manners violated, and all their civil and religious Inſtitutions overthrown; and to crown all, the unhappy country is to be finally charged with the expences attending its own ruin.

Sai. Split my top-ſails, if I ſhould not have gueſſed you was ſpeaking of our old enemies the French, though you had not named them. I know their tricks of old—they always ſhun fair fighting as long as they can, and inſtead of engaging yard-arm and yard-arm, as Engliſh Tars like to do, they keep aloof manœuvring and firing at our rigging, that we may not be able to purſue them when they ſheer off.—But damn 'em, if they happen to loſe the wind, ſo that we can bring 'em to, we don't fail to give a good account of 'em—as Hawke and Rodney, and many others, could tell you.

Man. But though Republican Governments have been hitherto generally engaged in wars, and France as yet ſeems diſpoſed to follow their example, I cannot ſee any reaſon why that ſhould be the caſe. I ſhould rather expect, that under their influence mankind would live as brothers.

Far. The conſtant practice of Republics for ſo many thouſand years, is enough, methinks, to ſhew what we may expect from them; particularly as the laſt which has ariſen ſeems more turbulent and ambitious than all that went before, notwithſtanding it far exceeds them in profeſſions of peace and moderation. But, without reſorting to facts and experience, reaſon is ſufficient to convince us, that Republican forms of Government muſt ever be unfavourable to tranquillity. We have already ſeen that States ſo governed are *internally* expoſed to the influence of the moſt violent and diſorderly paſſions—what reaſon, then, is there to imagine that they

they ſhould manifeſt a pacific diſpoſition in their *foreign concerns?* Is it likely that a people who are wolves and tygers towards one another, ſhould be lambs towards the reſt of the world? It is far from being the intereſt of their leaders to exterminate or diſcourage a warlike diſpoſition. War is one of their grand reſources for exciting thoſe paſſions on which they chiefly depend for attaining their wiſhes.—It affords a better opportunity than any other ſituation for thoſe ſpecious profeſſions of patriotiſm, which, in popular Governments, are the ſureſt ſteps to popularity. It generally ſuits one party or another.—It is, as occaſion ſerves, either a road to power for thoſe who ſeek it, or a mode of preſerving it when acquired. For in a ſtate of lengthened calm, nothing is ſo fickle as the multitude in their attachments. To crown all, a Republic not only contains within itſelf, and that in an unequalled degree, all the ſources from whence wars originate, but the people, actuated by what they conceive to be patriotiſm, entertain a violent hatred and antipathy to their adverſaries: careleſs of their own blood and treaſure, regardleſs of the miſeries they may bring on themſelves or their poſterity, they ſeem to think it the higheſt virtue to riſk their own deſtruction in an endeavour to extirpate their foes; and if it had not been for Monarchy, the world would have been unacquainted with that mild ſpirit of gallantry, honour, and urbanity, with which military operations are generally conducted, which ſmooths the rugged face of war, and ſoftens its horrors.

Sai. My heart tells me you are right, and I thank my ſtars that I belong to a *Royal* Navy, where every one knows, that to pleaſe his King he muſt be humane as well as brave. Look-ye, I have been in many an engagement—I have always ſeen the Britiſh flag invincible—and

I hope

I hope I have always done my duty—but no victory ever gave me more pleaſure than I feel in remembering, that I lent a hand to the gallant Curtis and his brave comrades before Gibraltar, in ſaving our conquered foes from the waves, while the floating batteries were burſting about our ears, as if hell had broke looſe.

Far. Then, indeed, did England acquire laurels which will never fade. Then was the real character of Engliſhmen, fighting for their King and their country, exhibited in its genuine colours; when the ſplendour of victory was heightened by the nobleſt exertions of benevolence; and bravery in the moment of ſucceſs forgot its triumph, and courted freſh perils at the call of humanity.

Man. Think not that I am inſenſible to the nobleneſs of ſuch an action, or that, as an Engliſhman, I do not feel myſelf honoured by it. I am alſo ready to own that I was deceived in thinking that a Republican Government is favourable to tranquillity, either internal or external. Still, however, I cannot bear the idea that a nation ſhould be involved in war at the pleaſure of a ſingle individual.

Far. That idea is as odious to me as it can be to yourſelf. But there is no room for ſuch an apprehenſion in this country, where, though the power of declaring war, and of making peace, is properly veſted in the Crown, as the Executive Branch of Government, yet the neceſſary ſupplies for carrying on a war cannot be obtained without the expreſs grant of the Commons for that purpoſe. Beſides which, the fair, open, and proper influence of the people at large is ſuch, that unleſs they enter heartily into a war, it can never be carried on with that ſpirit and vigour which are neceſſary to its ſucceſs; and we have even ſeen, in a late inſtance, that Adminiſtration has found it expedient to abandon ſuch plans as

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its anxiety for the permanent welfare of the country had induced it to form, becauſe, by ſome means or other, they were not ſufficiently countenanced by the public opinion to enſure their energy and effect, in caſe, as was poſſible, they had terminated in hoſtilities. It ſhould alſo be remembered, that the Crown can only act by the agency of Miniſters, and with the aſſiſtance of Councils which the Conſtitution has provided; all of whom are ſubjected to a complete reſponſibility for their meaſures; and while honeſt and able men are ſure in all events to have credit for their well-meant and judicious exertions, and to acquire the greateſt of all rewards, the grateful applauſe and eſteem of their country, Miniſters of every deſcription know that they are reſponſible to the great tribunal of the Public. Nor is this all: meaſures do not wait for their effects to undergo a ſtrict and ſevere ſcrutiny—they are continually ſubject not only to the unprejudiced diſcuſſion of the People at large, but alſo to the prying eye and keen inveſtigation of an able Party, inſeparable from a free country. This Party, which we know by the name of Oppoſition, is perpetually aiming to diſplace Miniſters, hoping for an opportunity of ſerving the country in their ſituations; it is therefore, for its own ſake, ever on the watch to detect and expoſe their errors; and of courſe it tends, by inſpiring them with caution, to render itſelf uſeful to the Nation. And notwithſtanding the ſeeming aſperity with which this party is uſed to attack the conduct of Adminiſtration, the Oppoſition has lately ſhewn, that when the ſafety of the country is at ſtake, it will lend its aſſiſtance to Government in reſiſting the common danger:—I ſpeak with an exception of only a few individuals, eminent indeed, for their abilities, who obſtinately perſiſt in

oppoſing

oppoſing meaſures which the united voice of the whole nation declares to be indiſpenſable to the public ſecurity.

Sai. I truſt ſuch perſons are very few indeed. Rot 'em, they are worſe than rats a ſhip-board, which, whatever miſchief they do, will not ſink the veſſel by gnawing holes through the bottom.

Man. But granting that Monarchy is the beſt form of Government, which I begin to think is the caſe, can it be denied that the idea of Hereditary Monarchy is founded in abſurdity? Thoſe who fill offices ſhould be ſelected for their qualifications; which cannot be the caſe when birth governs the ſucceſſion.

Far. There are few points on which mankind are ſo generally agreed as in a preference of Hereditary to Elective Monarchy. Nothing is ſo calculated to be an object of eager competition as a Crown; nor is there any claim to Sovereignty in which mankind can be brought to acquieſce, without envy and without contention, but that which is founded upon birth, and recognized, according to eſtabliſhed rules, by long uſage and general conſent. And as a conteſt upon a matter of ſuch magnitude and univerſal concern cannot take place without producing the greateſt public misfortunes, it is a peculiar happineſs for a country to poſſeſs ſuch a ſource of unanimity and general concurrence as ariſes from a clear and undiſputed title to the Crown. The hiſtory of this country diſplays in a ſtriking manner, during the Civil Wars between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter, the horrors reſulting from even a diſputed *hereditary* claim. But in an *Elective* Monarchy ſuch horrors muſt recur upon every vacancy. Beſides, an elected Monarch has only a life-intereſt in the Crown, and will, of courſe, be indifferent in what ſtate it is tranſmitted to his ſucceſſor; but the hereditary Monarch is induced by the ties of blood to preſerve its

conſequence

conſequence and dignity, that his deſcendant may receive it with undiminiſhed ſplendour. The firſt will alſo be apt to remember with gratitude the ſervices of thoſe who ſupported his claim, and to reſent the oppoſition of others; but the Hereditary Prince has no ſuch motives for partial diſtinction: he ſtands in the ſame relation to all; and the certainty of his title is a ſource of union, and conſequently of ſtrength and happineſs, to his people. In ſhort, the inconveniencies to which Hereditary Monarchy is expoſed are caſual, and may never happen.—The chance of them is abundantly overbalanced by the certain advantages of order and tranquillity. Moſt of them may be provided againſt; and if any ſhould occur, they muſt be very limited in their effects under ſuch a Government as ours, where the powers of the Crown are ſo blended with the other powers eſtabliſhed by the Conſtitution. But the evils of Elective Monarchy are ſure and unavoidable, and cannot be guarded againſt by any precautions of wiſdom or foreſight.

Man. In an Elective Monarchy, however, as the people chuſe whom they pleaſe, they may always fix upon the moſt worthy—But where the title is hereditary, they muſt take what Nature happens to give them.

Far. The chance which Nature affords of beſtowing a good King is beyond all compariſon better than that which (in ſuch a caſe) depends upon election. Beſides, Nature is aſſiſted in Hereditary Monarchy by a preparatory education, by a nice hereditary ſenſe of honour, which none but the moſt depraved could vanquiſh, and by a kind of natural and family attachment to the people. But upon an election to ſo high an office, there is no room to expect that merit will have the leaſt influence upon the choice. The candidates will be governed by ambition, and the electors by their paſſions or their perſonal intereſts.

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The reſpective claims, inſtead of being (as you ſuppoſe) referred to the calm unbiaſſed ſenſe of the people at large, will be ſupported by hypocriſy, artifice, cabal, and by all the various means which unprincipled craft can ſuggeſt; force or fraud will decide the conteſt; and anarchy, bloodſhed, and civil war, will be its certain attendants. The competitor who poſſeſſes in the greateſt degree thoſe qualities which would be moſt pernicious on the Throne will have greatly the advantage. In a purſuit of ſuch magnitude, all kind of aſſiſtance will be gratefully accepted, and the moſt abandoned and profligate characters, men who ſtick at nothing to obtain their ends, will be encouraged to lend their aid; and, to crown all, it may be conſidered as a certainty, that the Monarch thus choſen will be a tyrant, or elſe a tool to the party which had occaſion for him, and ſet him up to ſerve their own purpoſes. But during this time how will the unhappy country be torn and convulſed—its induſtry interrupted—its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, neglected—its tranquility ſacrificed—its inhabitants agitated, divided, and inflamed—and the attention and paſſions of all engaged in one ſubject of univerſal animoſity and contention. Nay, even the event of an election will not, probably, be the period of theſe diſaſters. The unſucceſsful party may be expected to lie in wait for opportunities to diſpute the validity of ſuch an election, and the progreſs of a reign may be expected to be as turbulent as its origin. At beſt, the Sovereign will reign over a divided people; and to preſerve his dominion ſo acquired, he muſt exert powers that are incompatible with a free State. But how is the mind relieved in turning from ſuch ſcenes to that of a calm and tranquil acceſſion, where the Monarch ſucceeds to a clear undiſputed title, recognized by eſtabliſhed law and by the

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univerſal acclamations of a whole people, and ſubject neither to jealouſy nor contention. And ſurely this nation has the moſt ſubſtantial reaſon to be attached to the hereditary ſyſtem, ſince we are actually indebted to it for a Sovereign who deſerves and poſſeſſes in ſo eminent a degree the affections of his ſubjects; a Sovereign who, while he is revered as THE KING, is adored as THE FATHER, of his people. And when, in the courſe of time, the nation ſhall ſuſtain that misfortune to which, from the condition of humanity, it is expoſed, the excellent heart, the amiable and manly qualities of the Heir Apparent, which even now ſhine through the effervescence of youth (and which, I predict, are deſtined hereafter to bleſs this country), will afford as much conſolation as ſo grievous a calamity can admit of.

Sai. I hope the loſs you mention is far diſtant. I'm ſure whenever it happens there will not be a dry eye in the Navy.

Far. The loyalty of the Navy is well known; and it is but juſtice to ſay the ſame of the Army, every brave ſoldier of which ſerves his Majeſty with zeal, fidelity, and affection.

Man. And I declare, that no man ſhall ſing "God "ſave the King" with more zeal than myſelf. I had been prejudiced againſt Monarchy in general; and I now ſee my error in that reſpect. But I am ſure that nothing could have made me violate my duty to ſo good a King. There are ſtill, however, ſome ſubjects on which I have difficulties remaining; particularly eſpecting a body of Nobles, and the actual ſtate of the Repreſentation.

Far. You ſhall ever find me ready to liſten to all your difficulties. The Conſtitution of this country will not only bear the ſtricteſt inveſtigation, but the more it is examined,

examined, and the better it is underſtood, the more it will be admired. No pains been have ſpared, by falſehood and miſrepreſentation, to prejudice it in the minds of the people; and ſurely neither patience nor zeal ſhould be wanting to repel ſuch miſchievous attempts, and to withdraw the veil of deception which has been ſo induſtriouſly ſpread. But it now grows late, and we will poſtpone any further converſation to a future meeting.

Sai. I have liſtened to you with pleaſure, and ſhould like mightily to meet you again: but though that cannot be, I am glad to find honeſt Tom here on the right tack, and likely to get into a good courſe. At firſt he ſeemed to be carried over rocks and flats and quickſands, but you have towed him into good ſteerage, and I'll lay my life he ſoon comes to anchor in a ſafe riding.

Far. But what are you going to do with yourſelf, that you can't give us another meeting?

Sai. I hear that my King and Country want my ſervices; and when that is the caſe, they ſhall never find me backward in obeying their call. I ſhall, therefore, ſet off early to-morrow morning for Spithead, to enter as a volunteer aboard the Fleet.

Far. I am glad to hear you ſay ſo, and moſt heartily wiſh you ſucceſs againſt the enemies of Great Britain.

Sai. Succeſs! who the devil doubts it? The Britiſh flag was never hoiſted in a better cauſe; and it ſhall go hard but Britiſh tars will keep up its credit. As to myſelf, I never longed ſo much in my life to give our old foes a drubbing.

Far. They never deſerved it ſo much. It is not now an iſland, a colony, or a commercial advantage merely that they want to deprive us of—but they have the inſolence to threaten even the freedom and independence of the country itſelf. In return for our moderation in preſerving

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a ſtrict neutrality during all their troubles and diſtreſſes for four years, they ſend their agents among us to excite an inſurrection, and to propagate their own levelling and diabolical principles. They receive with open arms, in their riotous Aſſembly, every Engliſhman who is baſe enough to be a traitor to his King and Country. They openly encourage and correſpond with Societies here formed for the purpoſe of overthrowing the Conſtitution; and they have even had the audacity to appeal to the Britiſh People againſt the lawful Government.

Sai. Their appeal ſhall be ſoon anſwered by the cannon's mouth.—Zounds! I'll ſet off to-night.

Man. The ſooner the better; and whenever you go my beſt wiſhes will attend you. I feel a true Britiſh heart beat in my boſom; and no one will have more pleaſure than myſelf in hearing of your victories.

THE END OF THE THIRD DIALOGUE.